



Sound narratives in and beyond the Greek art-folk song

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RESUM

Entechni laiki mousiki (música art-folk) i *entechno laiko traghoudhi* (cançó art-folk) són dos termes de caràcter mixt, apareguts a Grècia durant els anys seixanta. *Epitaphios* (Epitafi) es va considerar el primer exemple que va sentar les bases del seu establiment com a gèneres musicals durant els anys seixanta i va obrir el camí cap a una reconceptualització de la música popular grega. Juntament amb *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfon* (La cançó del germà mort), hi ha dos exemples de poesia grega que han estat basades inicialment en el lament, estimulant el seu estudi dins i més enllà de l'entorn del folk, mentre que la seua gran circulació pel país i per l'estranger subratlla el seu impacte durant els anys seixanta. Com a exemples de contingut llastimós, tots dos cicles de cançons van ajudar a comunicar un "nosaltres" que passa d'allò individual a allò universal. Gràcies als *laikes synavlies* (concerts populars) i els llançaments d'àlbums a tot el món, aquests gèneres encara funcionen com un mitjà de resistència i necessitat d'expressió. Per aquest motiu, aquest treball examina la manera com s'ha difós allò grec més enllà de les fronteres predefinides a través de la circulació, concerts, arranjaments i noves instrumentacions dels seus enregistraments, on aquest tipus de composicions semblen adquirir una presència metacultural que aporta aquestes expressions culturals específiques de pena davant una audiència més àmplia, i les transforma en una experiència humana universal.

Paraules Clau: : Entechno laiko traghoudhi; Epitaphios; To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou.

RESUMEN

Entechni laiki mousiki (música art-folk) y *entechno laiko traghoudhi* (cançó art-folk) son dos términos de carácter mixto, aparecidos en Grecia durante los años sesenta. *Epitaphios* (Epitafio) se consideró el primer ejemplo que sentó las bases de su establecimiento como géneros musicales durante los años sesenta, y abrió el camino hacia una reconceptualización de la música popular griega. Junto con *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfon* (La canción del hermano muerto), hay dos ejemplos de poesía griega que se basaban inicialmente en el lamento, estimulando su estudio dentro y más allá del ámbito folk, mientras que su gran circulación por el país i el extranjero subraya su impacto durante los años sesenta. Como ejemplo de contenido lastimoso, ambos ciclos de canciones ayudaron a comunicar un "nosotros" que pasa de lo individual a lo universal. Gracias a los *laikes synavlies* (conciertos populares) y los lanzamientos de álbumes por todo el mundo, estos géneros aún funcionan como un medio de resistencia i necesidad de expresión. Por este motivo, el presente estudio examina la manera en que se ha difundido aquello griego más allá de las fronteras predefinidas a través de la circulación, conciertos, arreglos i nuevas instrumentaciones de sus grabaciones, donde este tipo de composiciones parecen adquirir una presencia metacultural que ofrece expresiones culturales específicas de pena ante una audiencia amplia, y las en una experiencia humana universal.

Palabras Clave: Entechno laiko traghoudhi; Epitaphios; To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou.

ABSTRACT

Entechni laiki mousiki (art-folk music) and *entechno laiko traghoudhi* (art-folk song) are two terms of mixed character, which appeared in Greece during 1960s. *Epitaphios* (Epitaph) is considered to be the first example that laid the ground for their establishment as musical genres during the 1960s and paved the path for a reconceptualisation of Greek popular music. Along with *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfon* (The song of the dead brother), they are two examples of Greek poetry that have been primarily based on lament, stimulating its study in and beyond the folk settings, while their wide circulation around the country and abroad underlines their impact beyond the 1960s. As examples of sorrowful content, both song cycles helped communicating a 'we' that moves from individual to universal. Thanks to the *laikes synavlies* (popular concerts) and album releases around the globe, they still operate as a means of resistance and an ever-growing need of expression. Thereby, this paper examines the way the Greek dirge has been disseminated beyond predefined borders through their recordings' circulation, concerts, arrangements and new instrumentations, where this kind of compositions seems to acquire a metacultural presence that brings these culturally specific expressions of grief before a broader listenership and transforms them into a universal human experience.

Keywords: Entechno laiko traghoudhi; Epitaphios; To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou.

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The Greek art-folk song

Entechni laiki mousiki (art-folk music) and *entechno laiko tragoudhi* (art-folk song) are two hybrid terms that appeared in Greece in the mid-twentieth century. Chardas graphically describes the Greek musical landscape during the late twentieth century by providing a historiographical model of a tripartite division. With due regard to the Greek art-music, he places the Greek National School at the centre, as the principal agent for the first half of the twentieth century, 'while in the wings one finds the music of the Ionian islands of the nineteenth century, and the gradual advent and institutional establishment of modernist and, later, post-modernist idioms in post-1950 Greece' (Chardas, 2016:78). In this second wing and according to recent historical evidence, he also explains that the *entechno laiko tragoudhi* (art-folk song) represented a particular musical idiom of the second half of the previous century, which falls under the so-called musical post-modernist umbrella (Kramer in Lochhead and Auner, 2002: 16-17).

Coming to the forefront in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the contemporary *laiko* song had initially two main protagonists: the composers Manos Hadjidakis and Mikis Theodorakis. Hadjidakis set the basis for a different aesthetic approach towards this genre by orchestrating a part of Bertolt's Brecht *Caucasian chalk circle* (German: *Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis*) between 1945 and 1948. With the help of Odysseas Elytis, who translated it into Greek, he brought one of the greatest German thinkers to the attention of the Greek audience, while Theodorakis set Ritsos' poem *Epitaphios* to music in 1958, turning the attention to the domestic artistic production.

As a musical term and according to Beaton and Tragaki, *entechno laiko tragoudhi* characterised those song compositions that were 'based on achieved published poetry' (Tragaki, 2007:104). However, if seen technically, it essentially contains two apparently contradictory concepts of high art (*entechno*) and common culture (*laiko*) that demonstrate, quite eloquently, an amalgamation of the Greek folk tradition with a Western orientation. Tsioulakis also finds this musical terminology rather paradoxical and describes the genre as the 'art-folk song' of Greece that was originally 'invented largely by [the] leftist intellectuals in urban Greece, prominent among whom was Mikis Theodorakis' (Fabbri and Tsioulakis, 2016:318-319). For Theodorakis, the *entechno laiko tragoudhi* was actually regarded as a contemporary composite musical work of art that could be creatively assimilated by the masses, denoting its political and historical character. Nonetheless, as he recognized, the contemporary Greek *laiko* song had a main deficiency: it was unbalanced. In other words, although it was deep and sturdy in terms of its musical substance, it seemed superficial and somehow meaningless in its lyrical part. As a result and in order to mitigate this counterbalance, the beginning of Theodorakis' efforts was based on the dialogue of music and poetry and *Epitaphios* was the greatest example of 'a marriage between the contemporary Greek music and the contemporary Greek poetry', as he said (Theodorakis, 1972:22 and 33).

Sound narratives in *Epitaphios* and *To tragoudhi tou nekrou aderfou*

Written by Yannis Ritsos in a fifteen-syllable and rhymed verse, *Epitaphios* is a poem that addresses a mother's lament (her actual name was Katina) beside the dead body of her assassinated son (Tasos) during the Thessaloniki strikes in 1936, when the tobacco factory workers went on a long-term walkout asking for wage increases and improved benefits from the Tobacco Insurance Fund as well as their political and trade union freedoms. On 10 May 1936, the newspaper *Rizospastis* talked about a savagely violent slaughter of people in Thessaloniki (Karagiorgis and Sotiriou, 1936), while Tzonis and Rodi characterize this strike as 'the worst happening' among

an ‘epidemic of strikes’ in Greece at that time (Tzoni and Rodi, 2013:127-128). Ritsos was deeply moved by that tragedy and within three days, he wrote this lament. Its forty-four verses were first published in the Athenian newspaper *Rizospastis* on 12 May 1936 as *Moiroloi* (Dirge/Lament) and the poem was dedicated ‘to the heroic workers of Salonica’, but later that year, he revised and expanded the work, renaming it *Epitaphios*. However, it was twenty years later that he sent it to Theodorakis, who was then living in a small apartment of la Pension de famille on the Miromensil street in Paris, as in the meantime, the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas had banned its circulation due to Ritsos’ leftist political ideas (Theodorakis, 2003:26).

The setting of *Epitaphios* to music and its release in 1960 was a turning point in contemporary *laiko* song (Alexatos, 2006:117), as it epitomized the genre of *entechno laiko tragoudhi* by combining the poetic lament of leftist Yannis Ritsos with *laika* musical features (Holst-Warhaft, 1980:10-12). Mouyis underlines that Ritsos, a poet with leftist and Marxist ideas, ‘had shocked the public by writing poetry that used imagery of the folk lament as well as the Virgin’s lament for her dead son and also by calling it *Epitaphios*’ (Mouyis, 2010:29 and Holst-Warhaft, 1992:146-149). When Theodorakis received *Epitaphios* in Paris in 1958, he was deeply influenced by the political circumstances in Greece, where national elections were meant to take place. Elaborating on the material, he ended up linking Ritsos’ poetic imagery with his musical intentions. Inspired and based on melodic material of the homonymous Orthodox service of *Epitaphios* that takes place every Good Friday in Greece, he suffused them in his work. The Orthodox hymns that frame the Virgin’s lament for her Son constitute the most solemn ritual element of a funeral in the Orthodox Church, as they express the pain a mother can feel before her son’s martyrdom (Newton, 2014:10-11). For Theodorakis, the Virgin’s words were the principal idea to connect Ritsos’ poem with the relevant ecclesiastical melodic embellishment. Following this, he decided to work on a melody with folk and *rebetika* elements, as they had been absorbed into his mind since his childhood, when he was moving from Mytilene to Syros and Ikaria to Crete, due to his father’s frequent displacements as a civil servant. For him, in terms of musical setting and poetic structure, *Epitaphios* is the meeting point of the lament of Mani, the cantata of Zakynthos, the *rizitiko* song of Crete, the modal and rhythmic features of the folk songs of Aegean and the ecclesiastical melodies (Theodorakis, 1961: 172-176 and Holst-Warhaft, 1999:10-11). His aesthetic choices, though, underlined on the one hand his shared perspective with Ritsos’ artistic and ideological input, while on the other, they have stimulated a great debate among Greek intellectuals. As from the late 1950s onwards, both Theodorakis and Hadjidakis were preoccupied with new genres that would employ the *rebetiko* style within urban and Western-oriented musical forms, the Greek music scene of the 1960s was dominated by their work to such an extent that Greece was often referred to as the country of ‘the two composers’ (Papanikolaou, 2007:61).

Jacques Coubarde has highlighted that Theodorakis’ and Hadjidakis’ versions on *Epitaphios* ‘soon triggered an epic debate on a national scale. Musicians, writers, poets, journalists, actors and politicians fought over it. Greece was split in two: the Hadjidakis camp and the Theodorakis camp’ (Coubarde, 1969:145 as quoted in Papanikolaou, 2007:81). Papanikolaou also describes that Theodorakis’ choice to include the *rebetiko* style into his compositions ‘put in question the Greek left’s inconsistent position in relation to the genre and to popular music’ (Papanikolaou, 2007:83 and Cowan, 1993:8, 16-18), while Eleftheriou talked about a ‘civil war’ in the music field of the Greek socio-cultural life (Eleftheriou, 1986:203 as quoted in Tragaki, 2005:51). Given that Theodorakis was a fervent supporter of the Greek Communist Party at that time, his decision to work on *rebetiko* elements brought him almost against his political ideology and took him ‘pains to explain how *rebetiko* was a true expression of poetic essence’ (Tambakaki, 2019:57). This stance was further reinforced when he decided to recount the actual Greek Civil War (1946-1949) in *To tragoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* (written between 1960 and 1961 in Paris), which, as he admitted, was an experiment on modern theatre and art-folk song (Theodorakis, 1963:38). Inspired by the ancient

Greek tragedy, which seemed to preoccupy his mind after *Epitaphios*, he tried to find a way that could serve as a bridge to his *laiki* music compositions. At that point, he felt that a form with a tragic content would enable him to embrace broader modern contexts, where the Greek people, and even whole nations, can become the chorus of the past (Theodorakis, 2003:80-81). Having had an active role as a leftist during the Greek Civil War, especially in the underground resistance movement, Theodorakis shaped the myth of contemporary Greece around it, believing that it was ‘the greatest tragedy in the history of Hellenism’ (Logothetis, 2004:62). As Tragaki recognizes, though, these ‘new’ Greek folk songs were primarily treated as a ‘vehicle of musical novelty and cultural trends’ and as such, as a means of identity re-definition (Tragaki, 2005:59). This statement is also conducive to trace how the strong initial political background gradually faded after the 1970s and how ‘Theodorakis’ music came to express the existence of a popular constituency that did not have rigid class or party delineations’ (Papanikolaou, 2007:86).

The Lament in and beyond the Greek Art-folk Musical Landscape

Epitaphios has been issued in five main versions thus far that verify its musical significance: the first with Manos Hadjidakis and Nana Mouskouri in 1960; the second with Mikis Theodorakis, Manolis Chiotis and Grigoris Bithikotsis again in 1960; the third in 1963, when Theodorakis elaborated on his first musical setting and gave it a more symphonic texture; the fourth with Terpsichore Papastefanou and the Choir of Trikala that was created as an alternative arrangement of the original work and came out at the end of 1966; and the fifth version was presented by Xarchakos in 2000 and released in 2004, which is not a mere re-orchestration or arrangement on Theodorakis’ composition, but a totally new work. On the other hand, *To tragoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* counts more than twenty different releases in Greece and abroad since 1962, when it was first set to music.

Both song cycles have established the presence of the lament in Greek art-folk song through their recordings’ circulation and *laikes synavlies* (popular concerts) around the country, redefining its aesthetics within the Greek and international musical and cultural landscapes. Embracing in their own way the complicated parameters of the ‘other’ side of popular music, as opposed to the ‘mainstream’, they fall under the challenging category of ‘folk and art cultures’ that also carry nuances of ‘underground’ and ‘outsider’ activity, which seem to ask for a (re)discovery (Huber, 2013:4).

Mikis Theodorakis had already raised these questions in his *Mousiki gia tis mazes* (Music for the masses) (1972), where he acknowledged that within the reformation of folk music in the late 1970s and the amazing success of the English-speaking folk song, a number of bands, performers and composers, such as the Beatles, Joan Baez and Bob Dylan, shaped a particular pop and rock musical idiom that became mainstream. However, this tendency did not appear to include other composers who were left on the side of a ‘struggling’ counter-culture, as he characterizes it (Theodorakis, 1972:33 and Charonitis, 2015). This side, though, also had much to offer in terms of musical evolution and such contributions deserve further attention. According to Theodorakis, several steps had already been taken in Greece, as *laiki* music had been brought together with contemporary poetry and the form of song cycles propelled a revolution within its cultural territory. Both *Epitaphios* and *To tragoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* heralded the *laiko* oratorio that followed and helped take the *entechni laiki mousiki* into a different area of the musical realm, where the form of tragedy, the symphonic genre, the dance and the poetic text meet (Kougioumtzakis, 2007:60-61). These two works enabled him to reach the point of creating the genre of

contemporary *laiki* tragedy based on the Greek *laiko* song (Theodorakis, 1972:33) and to touch upon some post-symphonic aspects that took shape through the setting to music of *Axion Esti* (It is worthy) (1959/1960), which is a *laiko* oratorio. In the meantime and as Theodorakis discusses, the juxtaposition of *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* with the musical *Hair* (1967), one of the most popular Broadway shows of the late 1960s, seems to be important for the presence and contribution of this song cycle, as it reflects its potential to trace aspects of pop culture and/or counter-culture (Theodorakis, 1972:63, 73-76). For Theodorakis, though, *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* was neither a rock musical, nor related to the hippie movement, but was the result of a conscious effort to create a modern tragedy and a modern lyrical theatre, where the *laiko* song would be its principal component.

As many of the songs of *Hair* were flagged as anthems in the anti-Vietnam War peace movement, both *Epitaphios* and *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* belong to the AntiWar Songs (AWS) database. This inclusion indicates an acknowledgement of their strong pacifist background, which does not confine them to an autobiographical narration, but encompasses a rather broader setting with universal ideals. Besides, both song cycles have already moved beyond the state of two simple compositions of emotional and national background, as they have reached the international audience as a means of condemnation of any kind of suppressive regime. For instance, they were performed in a concert held in New York (1978) to honor the dead as a result of the uprising movement against the Junta in Greece (Amanantidis, 2007:152, Papacharissi, 2015:1-5 and Kornetis, 2016:275-280) and were also an integral part of the exhibition dedicated to Ritsos' and Theodorakis' works against fascism, which took place in Germany in 1978. (Amanantidis, 2007:203).

Regardless of prohibitions, detentions and exile, Theodorakis never ceased to protest and create music as a means of resistance. On the contrary, his tours in several cities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Tbilisi and Riga) during the 1960s remain remarkable, since he employed his work as a means of conflict resolution and regeneration. In those *laikes synavlies*, four songs of *Epitaphios* were primarily performed: 'Mera Mayiou' ['One day in May'], 'Vasilepses asteri mou' ['You've set my star], 'Isoun kalos, isoun glykos' ['How good you were'] and 'Sto parathuri stekosoun' ['You'd stand before the window']; these concerts were later released on the 1967 album *Vladimir Troshin, Maria Farantouri – Mikis Theodorakis' songs* (Мелодия, ГД000713-4, 1967). In this album, the songs from *Epitaphios* that were finally included were: 'Mera Mayiou' as 'В Мае Ушел Ты, Мой Сын' and 'Isoun kalos, isoun glukos' as 'Ты Был Добрым И Мягким'. The album was also issued in the German Democratic Republic as *Mikis Theodorakis – Lieder von Mikis Theodorakis* (Мелодия, 33ГД000713 and 33ГД000714, 1968), where 'Mera Mayiou' appears as 'Im Mai gingst du von mir mein Sohn' and the 'Isoun kalos, isoun glukos' song as 'Du warst so gut und sanft'. The same year, the *Vladimir Troshin, Maria Farantouri – Gestoblene Musik/ Anthonis* album was also released by Мелодия (33ГД000713/2-1, 1968) and eight years later it was issued in Greece, where in the section of *Epitaphios* there is another song, namely 'Prassini thalassa' ['Green sea'] that does not belong to this song cycle, but it is taken from Elytis' *Mikres Cyclades* (Little Cyclades) (Mikis Theodorakis, *Mauthauzen – Epiphania*, Delta, GR5003, 1976).

The Struggle for Freedom: Lament as a Means of Political Resistance

Several parts of Theodorakis' work had also been circulated in albums worldwide thanks to Maria Farantouri. Since the age of 16, she has been an integral member of the Theodorakis group and has given thousands of *laikes synavlies* both in Greece and abroad. Although she had to leave the country due to the dictatorship of colonels during the 1970s, her concerts around Europe and America gained an anti-dictatorial character and she became a symbol of resistance and hope, expressing the self-exiled Greeks and all the suppressed people. Through her

recordings, Theodorakis' music was kept alive during those difficult years and was disseminated by the BBC and Deutsche Welle Radio, although he was in exile. Having the support of famous foreign artists, intellectuals and other personalities, Farantouri expressed her own struggles for freedom in memorable concerts at the Olympia Theatre in Paris and London, the Salle Pleyel and Bobino in Paris, the Lincoln Center in New York, the Royal Albert Hall and the Tchaikovsky Theatre in London. Being by Theodorakis' side, she contributed to the evolution of contemporary Greek music and, through her voice, presented major Greek and foreign poets to the wider audience.

As a result of her endeavours, the *Songs and guitar pieces by Theodorakis* (CBS Records, CBS 53688, 1971) were released and included seven songs of the *Romancero Gitano* by Federico Garcia Lorca (i.e. 'Tou pikramenou' ['El emplazado'], 'Antonio Torres Herentia I', 'Antonio Torres Herentia II', 'Hamos apo agapi' ['La morte por el amor'], 'I kalogria I tsiggana' ['La monja gitana'], 'Tou anemou kai tis painemenis' ['Preciosa y el aire']), three other songs of the composer ('To gelasto paidi' ['The smiling boy'], 'Silva' and 'Irthan oi anthropoi' ['People came']) and four songs from *Epitaphios* for guitar solos (i.e. 'Cheili mou moschomuristo' ['Your fragrant lips'], 'Mera Mayiou', 'Vasilepses asteri mou' and 'Sto parathuri stekosoun'). John Williams played *Epitaphios* in guitar arrangements (written by Sanley Myers) and both the album and the concerts were featured in the British and French press in such a way that made their political character and protesting nature quite clear. More particularly, Geoffrey Moorhouse estimated that Farantouri along with the Ensemble Mikis Theodorakis were 'sworn to make both his music and propaganda' and Britain was one of the few places in the world to 'tolerate' them; despite her young age though, Farantouri seemed very conscious of what she was doing by admitting that 'my concerts are my demonstrations' (Moorhouse, 1970). Maurice Rosenbaum on the other hand gave the bigger picture of such collaboration, recognizing that it seemed imbued with democratic ideals and musical revolution:

Apart from any other service Theodorakis has given to the Greek people and democracy in general, his outstanding achievement has been the revitalizing and regeneration of the deep rooted popular music of Greece. Moreover, he has been particularly fortunate in finding in Maria Farantouri the ideal interpreter for his songs [...] In settings of poems by Ritsos and his own songs (in an English version by Alasdair Clayre), as in all his folk settings, Theodorakis has freed Greek demotic music from commercial and grossly Westernized accretions and has restored to it its ancient dignity and power (Rosenbaum, 1960).

Jean Abel also found *Epitaphios*' arrangements for solo guitar to be interpreted delicately and sensitively by Williams (Abel, 1972), while Jorge H. Andrés talked about 'a recital of memorable repercussion' and 'one of the most authentic and eminent musical ceremonies that have occurred in the country' when *Romancero Gitano* and *Epitaphios* were performed in Buenos Aires (Andrés, 1972). At the same time, *Epitaphios* context had also inspired the posters advertising Theodorakis' recitals at the National University of La Plata and La Reforma (1973) 'in favor of the condemned', where the mother and her assassinated son were depicted in a modern cubist style that communicates the obscurity, darkness and madness, which this song cycle carries (Amanantidis, 2007:146).

While being exiled by the colonels, Theodorakis traveled the world and through his *laikes synavlies* he also managed to give 'the Greek problem an international dimension' (Logothetis, 2004:116). His struggle for freedom toured Europe, Israel, Canada, the United States of America and Latin America, Australia, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Tunisia and Mexico (Logothetis, 2004:116). As he recalls:

I have experienced many moments that were very touching and emotional, in many countries all over the world because of the nature of my concerts. My concerts were a call for Freedom, for Struggle, for

National, Political and Spiritual Liberation, for Power to the People. They were Anti-Imperialistic, Revolutionary, Liberating and Regenerating in character. At the time, my music was associated with major popular movements of all kinds, primarily with anti-dictatorship struggles, of peoples oppressed by their rulers, the same way we were, like the Spaniards, the Portuguese, Turks, Palestinians, Iranians, Argentinians, Chileans and others. Thus, my concerts very often became a platform for the representatives of all those oppressed, who called on the audience to join them in their fight (Amanantidis, 2007:29-30).

Since *Epitaphios* and *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* had been included in most of those concerts, they had also become a significant vector for their composer's goal to create meaningful music and poetry for people and to 'battle historical amnesia' (Richman, 2014:172). As a result, these two song cycles proved to be an aesthetic vehicle that crossed the geographical boundaries of Greece and were also conducive to 'the experience of suffering' by an international audience. Helping 'bear witness both for the individual and the collective', through a lens of a 'courageous resolution' (Richman, 2014:172), their target shifted from a straight forward solace of Greek hardship to people's encouragement to stand up for their freedom (Holst-Warhaft, 2011:224).

From his tours, *Songs of Freedom* were released by Columbia Masterworks in the United States (M 32686, 1974) and included parts of *Epitaphios* (more particularly, the songs were again the 'Cheili mou moschomuristo', 'Mera Mayiou', 'Vasilepses asteri mou' and 'Sto parathuri stekosoun', indicated as 'Epitafios 2', 'Epitafios 3', 'Epitafios 4' and 'Epitafios 5'). This album is thought to be a successful step of a 'non-crossover recording' that on the one hand underlined Farantouri's role as 'Theodorakis interpreter *par excellence*', while on the other, it also gave Williams the opportunity to go beyond his classical repertoire and abilities and 'apply his creativity in challenging and controversial areas where existing boundaries no longer applied' (Fowles, 2009:264). Listening to these recordings, *Epitaphios'* *rebetiko* and art-folk background moves onto another level of plain instrumentation. Its careful harmonic linearity applies a contrapuntal dialogue with Farantouri's interpretation, which sounds emotional, but distant at the same time. Thereby, apart from the communication of a political message, such steps have enabled *Epitaphios* to verify not only its art-folk substance, but also to welcome a musical and aesthetic hybridity in terms of performance and belonging that continues into the present (Holst-Warhaft, 2002:39 and Tosone, 2000:171).

Epitaphios and *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* were also performed in Israel in 1973, the same year with the Arab-Israeli War (Yom Kippur War) and only six years after the 1967 Six Day War, giving a strong message of freedom for millions of Arabs that had come under Israeli control (Amanantidis, 2007: 123). This concert is among Theodorakis' significant performances, as his work and especially the lament in the art-folk song were clearly employed as a means of resistance and hope beyond Europe.

Global indicative discography, televised tributes and recent critical reception

After *Songs of Freedom*, John Williams also included the guitar solos of 'Cheili mou moschomuristo', 'Vasilepses asteri mou' and 'Sto parathuri stekosoun' of *Epitaphios* in his album *Recollections* (1979), which was released both in the United Kingdom and Australia by CBS Masterworks and presented them as 'Epitafios no.2', 'Epitafios no.4' and 'Epitafios no.5' respectively. In his *Classic Williams: Romance of the guitar* CD (2000), he kept 'Mera Mayiou' as 'Epitafios' and entered the Asian market thanks to Sony Classics Records.

Similarly, 'O Aprilis' ['April'] of *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* reached the Norwegian, Australian, English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, American and Dutch music markets, as it was included in the *Orchestra Mikis Theodorakis*,

The music of Mikis Theodorakis (1967 and 1968), the *Mikis Theodorakis, Music of Greece* (1968), the *Mikis Theodorakis, La Grèce de Mikis Theodorakis* (1969), the *Theodorakis, Canti della Grecia* (1970), the *Mikis Theodorakis, Theodorakis* (1973) and the *Mikis Theodorakis, Greek popular music* (1974) albums respectively, expanding its listenership to an international spectrum.

The variety of musical arrangements that have been issued globally reinforces this argument too, as there are *bouzouki* solos by Lakis Karnezis in his 1978 album *Musique pour bouzouki solo et orchestra*, which includes the songs 'Isoun kalos' and 'Na'cha t'athanato nero' ['If I only had the water of immortality'] from *Epitaphios* and the 'Ton Pavlo kai to Nicolio' ['Paul and Nicholas'] from *To tragoudhi tou nekrou aderfou*. All songs are written in English transliteration as 'Issoun kalos', 'Nacha t'athanato nero' and 'Ton Pavlo ke ton Nikolio'. There are also violin arrangements by Yannis Ioannou and Nicos Hatzopoulos in the 1999 CD *Zephyros*, which contains the 'Ena deilino' ['At sunset'] and 'Koimistou aggeloudi mou' ['Sleep my little angel'] songs from *To tragoudhi tou nekrou aderfou*, while transcriptions for violin and piano by Cihat Aşkın and Mehru Ensari in their 2001 CD enrich these endeavours. The arrangements for classical guitar by Iakovos Kolanian and the jazz arrangements by Michaelangelo Toumanidis are also important contributions. Of equal significance are the vocal adaptations for female performers, as for example Irene Papa's and Anastasia Avra's interpretation of the songs 'Prodomeni mou agapi' ['My betrayed love'] and 'Koimistou aggeloudi mou' respectively in the *Great female vocalists sing Mikis* 2010 CD as well as the instrumentations for small ensembles and bands, which underline the multifarious qualities these two song cycles may take. Such an occasion was the concert featuring the Plucked Strings Orchestra of the Municipality of Patras, where Melina Kana interpreted the song 'Sta pervolia' ['In the orchards'] from *To tragoudhi tou nekrou aderfou*, which took place at the Conference Center of the University of Patras under Thanassis Tsipinakis' direction in June 2011. As this arrangement is provided online with English and Italian subtitles, it seems that it reveals some latent intentions of a broader communication of the work, although it is a tiny part of the whole form. *Plastikes Karekles* is also another example of professional musicians in the United Kingdom that focuses on jazz, swing, classical and Greek folk music, who have arranged *Epitaphios* for cello, *bouzouki*, *baglama*, accordion, guitar and double bass. This band consists of Marina Deligianni (vocals), Sarah Dubost-Hautefeuille (cello), Pavlos Carvalho (*bouzouki*), Niki Andronikou (*baglama*), Stelios Katsatsidis (accordion), Maria Tsirodimitri (guitar) and Katy Furmanski (double bass). Their live performance at the Royal Northern College of Music in 2016 with *Epitaphios*' arrangement reflected the potential this song cycle has to inspire, even today, the young generation of creators and performers.

On the other side of the spectrum, *Epitaphios* was also broadcast on German television as *Epitaphios, Ein Klagelied*, a 1989 documentary which narrated the context of its creation, laying particular emphasis on the historical and socio-cultural details. Ritsos recited his poem along with a German voice over translation, although there are no subtitles for either language. His views along with Theodorakis' and Bithikotsis' interviews delineate the musico-poetic and performative background this song cycle displays, clarifying aspects of political and musicological interest on how this work was created. Through their dialogues, they stimulate discussions on its actual content, its subject and its real protagonists that invite the spectator to go through several viewings. Since its framework is not immediately exhausted, it seems that this documentary focuses on a triple perspective: first, it provides a 'visual treatment of the narrative' (Schatz, 1998:120), as it was experienced by the main contributors to this work; second, it helps engage with the evidence of the lament (Lerner, 1999:103), as 'an expression of despair in hope of being heard' (Wells, 2018:154) and third, it enhances its multimodal aesthetic value that takes its study beyond conventional approaches (Corner, 2005:51). All these different sounds and approaches that use the same material give the songs new grounds of performative flexibility and nourish them with contemporary perspectives, proving

that these works are gradually gaining a complex, but inspiring musico-poetic validity both within and outside Greece.

One such striking example is the arrangement of *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* by the composer Alkis Baltas. Having collaborated with the Cyprus Symphony Orchestra (CySo), he has already written his own orchestration of the work, including it in the repertoire of the Bi-communal Choir for Peace in Cyprus, which comprise members of both of Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities. The performance of this piece at the end of September 2016 in Paphos and Nicosia, a few days before the celebration of Independence Day of the Cypriot Democracy (1 October), underlined the vision for re-unification and solidarity within a divided country and enhanced the common goal of the two communities for peaceful co-existence and respectful unity. Since *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* conveys a particularly special symbolism and emphasizes the need for people's *rapprochement* in a dynamic way, this occasion was also a practical and meaningful call to fraternity in a currently disunited place. Particularly significant for the ideas embodied in this work, this performance also reflects its liberating atmosphere and international background in such contemporary cases.

Closing remarks

Although defining a specific cultural identity, *Epitaphios* and *To traghoudhi tou nekrou aderfou* represent such sound narratives in and beyond Greece that still operate as a means of resistance and an ever-growing need of expression, which has been reinforced thanks to the *laikes synavlies* and album releases around the globe. By constantly discovering new edges of (re-)creation, they also indicate their unique potentials to propel people towards their bodily and spiritual liberty, a struggle that never seems to cease. Thereby, if 'music has the option of exploiting its intellectual capacity for variation in the fullest' through 'impulse and reflection, intellectual freedom and spontaneity' (Lidov, 2005:157), the lament in Greek art-folk song seems to cherish and foster these perspectives quite effectively, bringing these culturally specific expressions of grief before a broader listenership and transforming them into a universal human experience.

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